A Press in Paradise The Beginnings of Printing in Micronesia by John Eliot Alden

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Upon the island of Ponape, on which our Navy was recently raining tons of bombs, a group of Americans nearly ninety years ago introduced a happier symbol of civilization by establishing the first printing press in Micronesia. To that region, as elsewhere, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions brought not only Christianity but a devotion to the printed word as well, in which the bibliographer, whatever his faith, creed, may share.¹

With the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century the Board had turned its attention to the remoter reaches of the South Seas, having firmly grounded both the Gospel and the art of printing in the islands of Hawaii. That the word of Christ was needed to counterbalance the concept of American culture provided by beachcombers and the captains and crews of Yankee whaling vessels is beyond question. Thus, in the summer of 1852, under the combined auspices of the American Board, whose headquarters were in Boston, and of the Hawaiian Missionary Society, a group of missionaries was sent out aboard the vessel *Caroline*, chartered for the trip. The first stations were set up at Kusaie, the easternmost of the Caroline Islands, and on Ponape, three hundred miles to the west, the finest of the same island group.²

The island of Ponape proved a most attractive field for his labors in the in the eyes of its first missionary, Luther Halsey Gulick, who described it in such glowing terms as these:

Ponape is a physical Paradise. Except on its Norther aspects, where the scattered islands & the bold hills are delightfully picturesque, there is nothing marked about the landscape, yet all is warm with a beauty most serene. Few sights are more fraught with magic romance than that of the coast from an island elevation. The mainland shore steps freely, gracefully down to where Ocean ebbs & flows. Between the ever-green shore & the outer reef many a patch of coral whitens near the surface, tho' not protruding save at lowest tide, & attracts the eye to tracing out the winding channels & spreading bays of the deeper blue. Along the outer reef, the foaming line of white

¹ This paper is based principally upon the Archive of the American board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, recently deposited in the Harvard College Library. I am indebted to Dr. Enoch F. Bell, Librarian and Historian of the Board, for permission to make use of this material. My thanks are also due to Miss Bernice Judd, Librarian of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, in Honolulu; to Mr. Hugo Hespen, of The Librarian of Congress; and to Mr. Lewis M. Stark, of The New York Public Library, for the assistance which they have rendered me in preparing this paper.

² Although the reader need only refer to his morning newspaper for the location of Ponape and of most of the islands mentioned in this paper, it may be well to outline the geography involved. The islands of Micronesia, along with those of Melanesia and Polynesia, lie to the east of the Philippines, New Guinea and Australia, south and west of the Hawaiian and Midway Islands. Micronesia comprises the Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert island groups, east of the Philippines. The Carolines, in turn, consist of a chain of scattered islands extending some 1800 miles from east to west, six hundred miles or more north of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Ponape itself is about three hundred miles from the eastern end of the chain. Geologically the island is of basaltic rather than of coral or volcanic origin, with several mountain peaks over two thousand feet in eight. Ponape has a circumference of about sixty miles and includes not only the island of Ponape proper but numerous small islands connected with it structurally, all of which are contained within an encircling coral reef. In 1855, after the smallpox epidemic of the previous year, the native population of about five thousand was divided among five tribes which occupied different sections of the island.

shows where hoary Ocean casts up as tributes of love many a deep-sea gem, & where he is ever surging out his admiration of Nature & his anthem to Nature's God.³

But not withstanding its physical beauty, Gulick was forced to add that "Ponape is a moral Sodom. Every prospect pleases, & only man is vile."

For the task of relieving the heathen darkness of the island no one could have been better qualified than Gulick. Born in 1828, the son of a missionary to the Hawaiian Islands, he had spent his early boyhood there prior to receiving his education in the United States. After graduating from the Medical College of the University of the City of New York – as New York University was then called – he was ordained to the ministry, and sent forth, accompanied by his wife, as a medical missionary to Micronesia.

Gulick, who is described as "the most distinguished member of a great missionary family," is probably best remembered for the accomplishments of his later years when he represented the American Bible Society in the Orient. There he founded the Bible House in Yokohama, and enormously increased the circulation of Bibles in China. Yet these activities had already been impressively foreshadowed by the earliest years of his missionary service when he exhibited the same faith in the power of the printed word.⁴

In his very first letter after his arrival on Ponape to the Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, Gulick closed with the statement, "I wish to mention the need that we shall soon be under of a printing press," adding that a Hawaiian printer might be sent out from the Islands to supervise it.⁵

It was not until some four years later, in 1856, that a press became an actuality instead of just a need. Even had one been available it is doubtful whether or not it would have been possible to engage in printing. To begin with, a knowledge of the language had to be acquired. The natives had to be proselytized. Warfare between the various tribes broke out sporadically. During the year 1854 an epidemic of smallpox, brought by a visiting ship, occupied Gulick's full energies as a physician. In addition, differences of opinion had to be settled regarding the system of orthography to be employed in transcribing the native languages, since the members of the mission stations favored varying forms.

While such obstacles were being overcome, however, it was found that the Hawaiian mission possessed a small handpress which was not needed and could be dispatched to Gulick.⁶ In the meantime he and his wife were forced to rely upon expedients for the school which they conducted for the natives, teaching them to read and write their own language. Shortly before the arrival of the press Gulick observed:

All our books are as yet prepared with our pens, for we have no printing press. Many of them are becoming well thumb worn, & when printed primers take their places we shall preserve them as interesting mementos of the first totterings of Micronesian literature.⁷

Early in 1856 Albert A. Sturges, who with his wife had joined the Gulicks on Ponape, was able to write

- 3 L. H. Gulick, "Bonape or Ponape." ABCFM Archive: Micronesia, 1852-1855. Unless otherwise designated, subsequent references are to the original letters and documents found in the two bound volumes of manuscripts covering this period.
- 4 The principal facts of Gulick's life are given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. There is also a full-length biography of her father by Frances Gulick Jewett, published in Boston in 1895.
- 5 Gulick to Rufus Anderson, Ponape, 5 Aug 25 Sept. 1852.
- 6 E. W. Clark to Anderson, to Anderson, North Pacific Ocean, 4. Nov. 1852 (Postscript: [Honolulu ?] 4 December).
- 7 Annual Report of the Ascension I. Mission for 1855 (MS.).

that the long-awaited press had been received, and that they would soon put it to use.⁸ With not unseemly pride Gulick the following November reported the first printing in Micronesia:

You will be as pleased to hear as we are to tell, that we have commenced printing in the Ponape Dialect. I send you a specimen of the first printing ever performed on this island, bearing date Oct 1856. Though no immediate results may take place, it is the opening of a new are for the island, & for Micronesia. To Mr. Sturges is all the credit of it. Without the slightest practical knowledge of the art he has accomplished what you see & will yet perform much more. You will the more marvel when you hear that every r & most of the j s are from type of his own manufacture! The font sent us from the Sand[wich] Is[lands] most unfortunately only contains such letters as are used in the Hawaiian dialect.⁹

While the publication in question, translations into Ponape of the Lord's Prayer and of a hymn, is perhaps scarcely worthy of comparison as a landmark in the history of printing with the Freeman's Oath, unlike the latter it has at least been preserved in the copy here reproduced.¹⁰

It is evident that though Gulick was responsible for the establishment of the press it was first set up at the station of Ronkiti, on the southwest coast of the island. There Sturges did the best he could with the materials available to him, exercising ingenuity and resourcefulness in overcoming myriad difficulties. Only on occasion did he complain, as when he wrote, "To get this much we have been obliged to make every shift; to make our r, & j; also manufacture spaces from wood! If we had materials enough to set up eight pages we could get on well; but this thing of doing on so small a scale is too tedious for us." At the meeting of the Micronesia mission in 1857, when, on the annual visit of the missionary packet, the *Morning Star*, the various members of the scattered stations came together, Sturges was directed to draw up a memorandum to the Board in Boston, urging the desirability of a central printing establishment, with adequate equipment, for Micronesia.

Sturges made the most, to be sure, of the Hawaiian press. In January, 1857, Gulick, whose own station was at Shalong, a small island in Metalanim harbor, on the east coast of Ponape, visited Sturges at Ronkiti, and here, about the middle of the month, by their united efforts they produced four small pages of a Ponape primer [No. 2], all that the quantity of type in their possession would permit. Notwithstanding such handicaps Gulick in July could report progress. "We have thus far this year printed about 7000 pages in Ponape. It was on the 16th of January that we commenced printing. In May, we struck off four Ponape Hymns [No. 5], that are being read by our pupils & also sung, for it is a part of our labors at present to teach singing. Some already sing Mr. Sturges' translation of 'There is a happy land,' in accents that are to us, at least, very sweet." "By September the number of pages printed had risen to eight thousand, and the primer, the printing of which had been begun in January with a fragment of two leaves, had grown into a work of thirty-two pages [No. 6]. 14

While, due in part to the length of time required for communication, the requests addressed to the American Board for additional equipment for the press had not produced effective results, the

⁸ A. A. Sturges to Anderson, Ronkiri [Ponape], 9 Feb. 1856.

⁹ Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 10 Nov. 1856.

¹⁰ For bibliographical description of this and the other Ponape imprints under discussion, cited by numbers in brackets in the text, see the conclusion of this paper.

¹¹ Sturges to Anderson, Ponape, 19 Jan. 1857.

¹² Gulick, Journal... 18 Jan. [1857] (Ms.).

¹³ Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 1 July 1857.

¹⁴ Gulick to S. C. Damon, Ponape, Sept. 1857; published in *The Friend*, Honolulu, March, 1858.

Hawaiian Missionary Society came to the further assistance of the mission. On its voyage to Micronesia in the late summer of 1857 the *Morning Star* brought a Hawaiian printer, Simeon Kanakaole. ¹⁵ It is probable that additional supplies of type were sent out to Ponape at the same time. During the meeting of the mission in September it was decided that Kanakaole should settle at Shalong with Gulick, and the press was presumably transferred there from the Ronkiti station. ¹⁶

One wonders if ever a press were set up amid more luxuriant natural surroundings. Gulick's residence on the island of Shalong stood on a height a hundred feet above the ocean, from which the ground sloped gradually down to the shore. From the dwelling there was an "indescribably beautiful" view of the land-locked harbor of Metalanim and of the islands on the barrier reef as well as of the open sea itself. Cocoanut palms, guava and tamarind trees grew about, in which parakeets and numerous other birds made their nests. Chinese geraniums, hibiscus, damask roses and mimosa mingled with less exotic flowers such as bachelor's buttons, periwinkle and four o'clocks. "So exquisitely beautiful is the picture seen from Shalong, that it does not require much imagination to fancy yourself in a land of pure delight; and such rare combinations of ocean and mountain scenery, of beauty and utility, can no where be found but in the tropics."

Certainly never did the products of a press in their austerity provide such a contrast with the lushness of the surroundings amid which they were printed.

With the arrival of a trained craftsman the press was at last able to justify Gulick's hopes for its fruitfulness. In October, 1857, Sturges wrote that "A small press & native printer are already beginning to assist us in our diffuse work." The following year saw Kanakaole extremely active. At its meeting the previous autumn the mission had decided to follow the general practice of the American Board in employing Lepsius's *Standard Alphabet* for the transcription of native languages, so that Gulick, who had hitherto followed the Hawaiian system, undertook the revision of the primer and of the hymns previously issued, printing new editions of both [Nos 8 & 12]. A still more ambitious project was the publication of a fifty-five page volume of Old Testament narratives [No. 9]. Commenting on it, Gulick remarked, "My book is far from perfect, even in the spelling, as I am already able to see, but it is sufficiently near it to form a very readable took, and I have learned more of the language in preparing it, than I could have done in any other way. This is one of the great advantages of early, in the history of a mission, commencing schools and printing in the vernacular, by which the teacher learns much more than he impart." The following year and last a printing in the vernacular, by which the teacher learns much more than he impart.

Only the fact that the printing of this volume exhausted the supply of paper at hand prevented Gulick from accomplishing more.²⁰ But with the coming of the *Morning Star* in August there apparently arrived a fresh stock which permitted the printing of a broadside primer in the Gilbertese language for

¹⁵ Capt. S. G. Moore to Anderson, On board the *Morning Star*, 12 Aug. 1857. The Hawaiian's name appears here as "Hanakaoli," but his full name is more authoritatively given in the colophon of Gulick's *Kosoi Saraui Potapot*, 1858, which he printed.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Second General Meeting of the Micronesia Mission [in 1857] (Ms.).

¹⁷ T. W. Gulick, "Appendix," *Eighth Annual Report of the* [Hawaiian] *Mission Children's Society*, Honolulu, 1860, pp. 23 - 25.

¹⁸ Sturges to Anderson, Ascension Island [i.e., Ponape], 14 Oct 1857. Kanakole's abilities seem to have included more than just a knowledge of printing, for the statement is made that "Some of the people of Tolapail [a village on Ponape] have so far learned to sing, under Kanakaole's instruction, as to take their hymn books to church and join with their teachers in a manner truly grateful to their hearts." S. E. Hall, *Report of the Corresponding Secretary*, in: *Seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society*, Honolulu, 1859. p. 6.

¹⁹ L. H. Gulick, cited by Hall, as above, pp. 6-7.

²⁰ Gulick to Anderson, Shalong, Ponape, 25 July 1858. In this letter Gulick gives the number of pages printed since the beginning of the year as 9,700.

Hiram Bingham, Jr., stationed on Apaiang, a neighboring island to better-known Tarawa [No. 14].²¹ At about the same time a primer was likewise printed for the Ebon station, the first to be done in the language of the Marshall Islands [No. 13].²² The cuts with which it is illustrated – wood-engravings of domestic animals – had probably just arrived aboard the *Morning Star*.

When the time came for the vessels to sail for Honolulu in early October, Kanakaole - who seems to have found the separation from his wife, whom he had left behind in Hawaii, too great a privation – decided to return there, despite the urgent requests of the mission that he remain at Ponape.²³

Lacking a trained printer, Gulick none the less continued to publish, though on a somewhat reduced scale, and in the year 1859 there appeared several works of which we have record. How this was possible is seen in the preface of the edition of Mrs. Gulick's primer [No. 16], where she says, "As a matter of interest in itself, and to account for defects in the mechanical execution of my primer, let me say that I have been assisted in setting it up, almost entirely by unpracticed native girls from a very defective font," adding that the expense of the volume had been borne by Dr. Gulick's brother Theodore, who also acted as pressman for the work. The irregularities in the numbering of the pages are a notable example of the defects to which Mrs. Gulick refers.

A book of New Testament narratives [No. 15], a continuation of that based on the Old Testament issued the previous year, was similarly printed, as well as the first eight chapters of the Gospel of Matthew [No. 18]. Perhaps the most curious of the publications of this period is a four-page tract addressed by Gulick "To My Personal Friends, and to the Friends of Virtue" [No. 17], which deals with the conduct of the crews of American whaling vessels in the South Pacific.

The morals of sailors long at sea being what they are, it is not surprising that the missionaries of Micronesia found themselves scandalized that the precepts they taught were so flagrantly violated by the crews of American whalers touching at the islands on which they were stationed. From the testimony of Melville and of others there can be little doubt that the missionaries had cause for dismay. It was probably as much in his rôle of physician as of missionary that Gulick attempted to call to the attention of the public at home the behavior of American seamen abroad. A letter of Gulick's to "Christian Owners of Whale Ships" had been widely published in the States in 1857, describing the private and public immorality of most of the seamen visiting Micronesia. In the ensuing controversy Gulick was attacked for revealing what the comfortable families of seafaring New England probably preferred not to know. In an effort to substantiate further his assertions Gulick write a second letter, and, finding that even the friendly editor of a Honolulu paper felt that "the less said on this subject the better," he himself published it with additional documentation, naming vessels and their captains. The resultant pamphlet provides an interesting item for the maritime history of the United States in the nineteenth century.

Thanks to Gulick's ability and devotion the station at Shalong had by this time been firmly established. He had, as a result, become anxious to try a new sphere of activity, casting his eyes towards the unexplored regions of the Gilbert Islands. But in 1859, due to the failure of Mrs. Pierson's health, it was necessary for Mr. And Mrs. Pierson, whose primer Gulick had printed the year before, to leave the island of Ebon, in the Marshall group, and return to the United States. As a consequence it was decided to transfer Gulick to Ebon.

²¹ Hiram Bingham, Jr., to Anderson, Strong's Island [i.e., Kusaie], 21 Sept. 1858.

²² George Pierson to Anderson, Strong's Island, 4 Oct. [- 15 Dec.] 1858.

²³ *Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Micronesia Mission*. August, 1858 (Ms.). Captain Brown of the *Morning Star* speaks of Kanakaole's passage aboard the vessel at this time, when he served with the crew.

Thus, during the visit of the *Morning Star* in the fall of the same year, Gulick left Shalong. But in moving he took with him to Ebon the press which he had used on Ponape. With the removal of the press the first chapter in the history of printing in Micronesia comes to a close, although another opens. For just as the press had been the earliest in the Caroline Islands, so, in turn, as the result of Gulick's efforts, it became the first in the Marshall Islands.

It is as a symbol rather than for the inherent importance of its product that the press on Ponape is significant, extending beyond the mere fact that it was the first in Micronesia. The hymns and primers were the expression of a conviction of the value of the printed word, not simply as a medium for recording the news of the moment or the phases of the moon, but as a means for achieving a finer way of life and of bringing it to others. The same flame of religious faith which brought the first press to North America carried printing to the South Seas. That he was responsible for this is not the least of the many accomplishments of Luther Halsey Gulick.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MICRONESIA MISSION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS PRINTED ON THE ISLAND OF PONAPE, 1856 – 1859.

The following list comprises these works of which copies are known or to which reference is found in the correspondence in the Archive of the American Board. Titles the numbers of which have been placed in brackets have not been located. So far as ascertainable, the listing is chronological.

1856

Bible, N. T. Matthew VI, 9 − 13. Ponape. 1856. Sturges. Kapkak en Jicuc. [Ponape, 1856]
 Broadside on blue writing paper. 10 x 4 inches. Printed October, 1856.
 Comprises the Lord's Prayer (Matthew VI, verses 9 − 13), translated into Ponape by A. A. Sturges, and a hymn, without title, by L. H. Gulick. See reproduction in text.
 Copy: HCL (ABCFM)

1857

- 2. [Gulick, Louisa (Lewis), b. 1830]. Uara en Turapa. [Ponape, 1857] [4] p. 5 7/8 x 4 ¾ inches. Caption title. Printed 16 January 1857.
 - "Mrs. Sturges' & Gulick's primer." L. H. Gulick to Rufus Anderson, [Ponape], 10 April 1857. Cf. No. 6 below.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

3. [Gulick, Louisa (Lewis)]. [Ponape primer. Ponape, 1857] Pp. [5-8]. 5 7/8 X 4 ³/₄ inches. Issued without title. Apparently printed between January sixteenth and April tenth, at a later occasion than No. 2 above, of which it forms a continuation. Cf. also No. 6 below.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

4. [Watts, Isaac, 1674-1748]. Puk en Peituk. [Ponape, 1857] [4] p. 5 7/8 X 4 ³/₄ inches. Caption title. Cf. No 6 below.

Presumably a translation of the first of Watt's *Four Catechisms for Children*, published by the American Tract Society.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

[5.] [Four Hymns in Ponape]

"In May, we struck off four Ponape hymns." - Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 1 July 1857. Cf. No. 6 below.

[6.] Gulick, Louisa (Lewis). First lessons and hymns in Ponape] [32 p.]

"Since the first of January we have printed thirty-two small pages of 'First Lessons and Hymns' in Ponapean." - Gulick to [S. C.] Damon, September 1857, published in *The Friend*, Honolulu, March 1858.

7. Bible, N. T. Matthew I-II. Ponape. 1857. Gulick. Ipansel me matu Intiniata. [Ponape, 1857] 3 p. 7 7/8 X 4 7/8 inches. Caption title.

A translation of chapters I-II only of the Gospel of Matthew. Cf. No 18 below.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

1858

8. [Gulick, Louisa (Lewis)]. Puk en Watowatok Lokaia en Ponape. Salon, Metalanim, Ponape, Mars, 1858.

12p. 7 X 5 inches. Caption title.

"I...reprinted a revised edition of our first lessons confirming as nearly as our types will allow to Lepsius' Standard Alphabet." - Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 25 July 1858. Cf. No. 6 above. Copy: Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Honolulu; HCL.

9. [Gulick, Luther Halsey, 1828 – 1891]. Kosoi Saraui Potapot Akai men Katitikion Kit en Kot a Kot en Wiawia Kailanaio Koto. Puk l. Kosoi en Moa en Krais me Mi er nan Puk uet. Misineri en Meriki me lntin o Kaparapar Kisenlikau uet. Salon, Ponape, 1858.

1 prelim. Leaf, 55, [1]p. 7 X 4 ½ inches. Colophon: Simeon Kanakaoke, Me wiata Puk uet. Ponape, Sun 30, 1858.

Narratives from the Old Testament. It is possible that copies without a title-page represent an earlier issue, the title-page being added only aftger the publication in the following year of the narratives from the New Testament. Cf. No. 15 below.

Copies: T. W. Streeter Collection, NYPL. (without title-page); Cleveland Public Library; Yale (without title-page); Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

[10.] [Gulick, Luther Halsey. Almanac tables]

[Broadside?]

"I have also prepared & had printed a few Almanac Tables." - Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 25 July 1858.

[11.] [Gulick, Luther Halsey. A leaf of figures]

[Broadside?]

"I have also prepared & had printed...a leaf of figures." - Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 25 July

12. Kaul Saraui Kai Men Kakauletaon Seopa Atail Sopeti Lapalap Nalon. Misineri en Meriki Kai me Intin o Kaparapar Kisenlikan uet. Salon, Ponape, Sulai, 1858.

1 prelim. Leaf, 12p. 5 3/4 X 4 inches.

"We have composed & printed several new hymns, & have reprinted the old ones uniformly with the new, thus making a little book of 17 pages." - Gulick to Anderson, Ponape, 25 July 1858. Despite the seeming discrepancy in the number of pages, this is probably the work to which Gulick refers. A new edition of a portion of No. 6 above.

Copy: Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

13. [Pierson, Nancy Annette (Shaw), *b*. 1828]. [Ebon Island Primer. Ponape. 1858] Signatures [1]-3². 12p. Illustrations. 7 1/8 X 4 ½ inches.

"By Mrs. N. A. Pierson." - MS note, HCL copy.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

According to the *Historical Catalogue* of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1903-11, Vol. II, p. 334, George Pierson, and E. T. Doane of the Ebon Station, in the Marshall Islands, printed a tentative translation of Chapters V-XI of the Gospel of Matthew in 1858. If so, it would probably have been printed at Ponape. But I find no other evidence of its publication. On the contrary, in a journal letter from Pierson to Rufus Anderson, under the date of 15 December 1858, he writes, "I forgot to say that we have had a primer in this language printed this fall at Ponape. It has twelve pages, & is the first printing in this language." However forgetful Mr. Pierson may have been, it is not likely that he would have failed to mention such a version of Matthew at this time.

14. [Bingham, Minerva Clarissa (Brewster), *b.* 1834]. [Gilbert Islands Primer. Ponape. 1858] Broadside. 9 5/8 X 7 3/8 inches. Issued without title.

"Kingsmill [i.e., Gilbert Islands] Primer, printed at Ponape, Sept. 1858." - Ms. note, HCL copy. "We have prepared a *brief* primer, the printing of a few copies of which Dr. Gulick has kindly offered to superintend while the vessel [the *Morning Star*] may remain at that island." - Hiram Bingham, Jr., to Anderson.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

1859

15. [Gulick, Luther Halsey]. Kojol Jeraui Kai. [Ponape, 1859] 40p. 7 X 4 ½ inches. Caption title; issued without title-page.

Narratives from the New Testament, a sequel to No. 9 above.

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association copy is interleaved with blank pages containing notes presumably in the autograph of Gulick. A title-page is manuscript is also inserted which reads "Kojol Jeraui Potapot Akai men Katitikion en Kot a Kot en Wiawia Kailanaio Koto Puk II." In one of the notes Gulick speaks of the work as follows: "The first twenty chapters I have intended should he tolerably close translations of scripture verses. The last ten chapters are in no respect literal translations."

Copies: NYPL; Yale; Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

16. [Gulick, Louisa (Lewis)]. Puk Monai en men Watapon. [Ponape, 1859]

4, 20 [i.e., 23] p. Illustrations. 7 ½ X 5 inches. Caption title, from first page of text. Pagination irregular: 4, 2, 2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-13, 7-8, 14-20.

Dedication, in English, of four pages, "My Dear Sisters Of The Micronesian Mission," dated July, 1859, and signed L. L. Gulick, precedes text. A new edition of No. 8 above.

Copies: NYPL; Hawaiian Evangelical Association; HCL.

17. [Gulick, Luther Halsey]. ...To My Personal Friends, And to the Friends of Virtue; -. [Ponape, 1859]

[4] p. 8 ¼ X 5 ¼ inches. Caption title. At head of title: Ascension I. Pacific Ocean. Aug. 1859. Printed on ruled gray writing paper.

Includes also a letter from Gulick's brother Theodore.

Copy: HCL (ABCFM).

18. Bible. N. T. Matthew I-VIII. Ponape. 1859. Gulick. Ipanjel me Matu Intinieti. [Ponape, 1859]

20p. 7 1/8 X 4 ½ inches. Caption title; issued without title-page.

A translation of Chapters I-VIII only of the Gospel of Matthew. Cf. No. 7.

Copies: NYPL; Yale.